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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SP-02 ICA-11 AID-05 EB-08 NSC-05
TRSE-00 SS-15 STR-07 OMB-01 CEA-01 L-03 H-01
PA-01 CIAE-00 COME-00 FRB-03 INR-10 NSAE-00
XMB-02 OPIC-03 LAB-04 SIL-01 DODE-00 PM-05 ACDA-12
DOE-15 SOE-02 OES-07 /137 W
----------073134 271847Z /53
R 271734Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6295
INFO ALL EC CAPITALS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BRUSSELS 08284

USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, US, EEC
SUBJECT: ANTI-AMERICANISM REVISITED

1. AS WASHINGTON KNOWS, U.S. PRESS REPORTING, E.G., BY PAUL LEWIS, FLORA LEWIS, THE WIRE SERVICES, AND EVEN PETER DREYER,ON RESULTS OF EUROPEAN COUNCIL MEETING IN COPENHAGEN HAS TENDED TO STRESS ALLEGEDLY ANTI-AMERICAN ASPECTS OF WHAT EUROPEAN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT DECIDED (OR AT LEAST DISCUSSED) ON THAT OCCASION. WHERE THIS LINE HAS BEEN TAKEN (AND REPORTING IN EUROPEAN PRESS HAS NOT GENERALLY BEEN IN THIS VEIN), FOLLOWING THEMES HAVE BEEN MENTIONED:

(A) SINCE U.S. CANNOT OR WILL NOT DO ANYTHING TO HALT CONTINUED DEPRECIATION OF DOLLAR, EUROPEANS MUST ACT TO DEFEND THEMSELVES BY CREATING INTENSIFIED REGIONAL CO-OPERATION TO INSULATE THEIR ECONOMIES FROM ADVERSE IMPACT OF DOLLAR INSTABILITY. ONE COROLLARY WHICH BUILDS ON THIS THEME IS IDEA THAT CONCEPT IS BAD BECAUSE IT CON-CENTRATES ON EUROPE AT EXPENSE OF INTERNATIONAL MONETARY
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SYSTEM, WHICH OUGHT TO BE PROPER FOCUS OF EUROPEAN CONCERN. ANOTHER VIEW IS THAT IT DOESN'T MATTER WHAT EUROPEANS DO AMONG THEMSELVES, SO LONG AS SOME OTHERWISE UNDEFINED ARRANGEMENT LINKING DOLLAR, MARK, YEN, AND SWISS FRANC RELATIONSHIPS IS WORKED OUT.

(B) U.S. IS STILL HOOKED ON LOCOMOTIVE THEORY FOR GROWTH

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RECOVERY, BUT EUROPEANS HAVE REJECTED THAT AND HAVE
DECIDED TO MOVE AHEAD ON THEIR OWN WITHOUT WAITING TO
COORDINATE WITH U.S.

(C) HEAVY-HANDED U.S. TACTICS ON NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION
POLICY HAVE POISONED U.S.-EUROPEAN CLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE.
LED BY FRANCE, EUROPEANS AT COPENHAGEN AGREED TIME HAD
COME TO STAND UP TO U.S. AND PUT US ON NOTICE THAT SUCH
TACTICS WON'T WORK.
(D) ALLEGED ADMINISTRATION MISHANDLING OF ERW DECISION,
COMING ON EVE OF COPENHAGEN MEETING, SERVED TO CONFIRM
VIEW THAT U.S. IS UNRELIABLE PARTNER AND THAT RATIONALE
FOR INDEPENDENT EUROPEAN POLICIES IN NUCLEAR AND ECONOMIC
AREAS WAS REINFORCED.
2. I HAVE, OVER THE PAST TWO WEEKS, TESTED THESE THESES
WITH EUROPEANS HERE, MOST OF WHOM ARE IN A POSITION TO
KNOW WHAT HAPPENED IN COPENHAGEN OR AT LEAST TO KNOW WHAT
THEIR GOVERNMENTS' ATTITUDES WERE GOING IN OR COMING OUT
OF THE SUMMIT. APART FROM BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER
SIMONET'S SPEECH REPORTED BRUSSELS 7366,I HAVE FOUND NO
RESPONSIBLE EUROPEAN OFFICIAL WHO SHARES THESE VIEWS.
INDEED, VIRTUALLY ALL HAVE STRESSED THAT THEY VIEW
COPENHAGEN AS HAVING BEEN DESIGNED TO SET IN MOTION A
WORK PROGRAM TO PERMIT EUROPEANS TO MAKE MOST POSITIVE
POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTION TO PREPARATION AND RESULTS OF BONN
ECONOMIC SUMMIT ON ALL THE FRONTS AGREED TO AT SUMMIT
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PREPARATORY GROUP IN LATE MARCH, AND THAT ANY ANTI-
AMERICAN INTERPRETATION IS MANIFESTLY FALSE OR DELI-
BERATELY MISCHIEVOUS.
3. PERHAPS BEST SUMMARY WAS OFFERED BY BRITISH PERMREP
MAITLAND DURING LUNCH I GAVE APRIL 19. HE NOTED, FIRST,
CALLAGHAN'S GENUINE PLEASURE AT RECEPTION HE GOT IN
WASHINGTON OVER EASTER FOR MOST OF HIS PACKAGE. AS TO
THEMES IN PRESS, MAITLAND (ECHOING JENKINS' REMARKS TO
SECRETARY KREPS) COMMENTED THAT:
(A) EUROPEANS WERE CONCERNED THAT CONTINUED EXCHANGE RATE
INSTABILITY, ESPECIALLY VIS-A-VIS DOLLAR, WAS HAVING
ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES ON POSSIBILITIES FOR NEEDED EUROPEAN
POLICIES TO STIMULATE HIGHER GROWTH AND THAT INCREASED
EXCHANGE RATE STABILITY IN EUROPE COULD BE A POSITIVE
CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL MONETARY STABILITY. THERE
IS NO QUESTION, HOWEVER, ABOUT EUROPEANS GOING IT ALONE
OR AGAINST THE U.S.
(B) EUROPEANS ARE ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT THE CONTINUING
FAILURE OF CONGRESS TO ACT ON ENERGY BILL, BUT THEY KNOW
THAT U.S. ADMINISTRATION SHARES THAT CONCERN.
(C) WHILE THERE CONTINUES TO BE SOME GRUMBLING ABOUT THE
NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION ACT, THE CONSENSUS AT LEAST

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AMONG THE EIGHT IS THAT THERE IS NO REASON WHY THIS SHOULD
BECOME A SERIOUS PROBLEM IN OUR RELATIONS. EIGHT FEEL
THAT THEY HAVE A USEFUL UNDERSTANDING WITH AMBASSADOR SMITH
ABOUT HOW NEGOTIATIONS FOR REVISED COOPERATION AGREEMENTS
SHOULD PROCEED AND ARE PREPARED TO GO FORWARD ON THAT
BASIS. THEY BELIEVE FRENCH WILL GO ALONG AFTER SUITABLE
PERIOD OF DELAY TO JUSTIFY THEIR EARLIER OBSTREPEROUSNESS.
SHOULD THIS JUDGMENT PROVE WRONG, THERE WILL BE AN INTERNAL
EC PROBLEM, WHICH SHOULD NOT BECOME A U.S.-EC ISSUE.
COMMENT: WHILE THIS IS WHAT MAITLAND SAID, AND I WISH IT
WERE SO, I FEAR THAT IT HAS BEEN, IS, AND WILL CONTINUE TO
BE, A U.S.-EC ISSUE UNLESS AND UNTIL FRENCH CHANGE THEIR

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POSITION. END COMMENT.

(D) AS FAR AS ANYONE KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT IT CAN DETERMINE,
THERE WAS NO DISCUSSION IN COPENHAGEN ABOUT PRESIDENT'S
ERW DECISION, AND HE HEARD NO SUGGESTION THAT DECISION
COMPROMISED U.S. LEADERSHIP POSITION.

(E) MAITLAND SAID EUROPEANS RECOGNIZE THAT PRESIDENT HAS
HAD SERIES OF VERY DIFFICULT PROBLEMS WITH CONGRESS OVER
LAST SEVERAL MONTHS, BUT NOW THAT PANAMA CANAL TREATIES
HAVE BEEN RATIFIED, THERE IS HOPE THAT PSYCHOLOGY WILL
BEGIN TO OPERATE IN PRESIDENT'S FAVOR. THUS, THERE IS
GUARDED OPTIMISM THAT CLIMATE FOR ACTION IN WASHINGTON
(E.G., ON ENERGY LEGISLATION) IS IMPROVING, TO BENEFIT OF

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ALL OF US.

4. IN ASSESSING OVERALL CLIMATE OF OUR RELATIONS, I THINK WE SHOULD DISTINGUISH CAREFULLY BETWEEN FACT THAT EUROPEANS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT ASPECTS OF U.S. POLICY AND POLITICS, AND FACILE PRESS CONCLUSION THAT THIS CONCERN
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INDICATES ANTI-AMERICANISM IS GROWING OR THAT IT IMPORTANTLY MOTIVATES EUROPEANS. IN MY JUDGMENT, WHILE SOME ANTI-AMERICANISM IS A PERMANENT FEATURE OF EUROPEAN SOCIETY--PERHAPS ESPECIALLY IN FRANCE--IT IS NOT AN IMPORTANT FACTOR AMONGST POLICY MAKERS, AND IT CERTAINLY WAS NOT THE MOTIVATING FORCE AT COPENHAGEN.

5. ALL THIS SAID, THERE IS DEFINITE FEELING IN BRUSSELS EUROPEAN CIRCLES THAT WE ARE HEADING TOWARDS A CRUCIAL RENDEZ-VOUS IN JULY. BONN SUMMIT MUST PRODUCE TANGIBLE RESULTS IN EACH AND ALL THE AREAS IDENTIFIED ON ITS AGENDA, AND EACH MUST BE SEEN AS PART OF A COHERENT PACKAGE. EUROPEANS SEE COPENHAGEN DISCUSSIONS AS PART OF THEIR DOING THEIR SHARE TO PREPARE THE GROUND FOR A SUCCESSFUL BONN SUMMIT. IF WE CAN TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OPPORTUNITY WHICH JULY SUMMIT OFFERS, OUTLOOK FOR MONTHS AHEAD WILL BE EXCELLENT. HOWEVER, IF WE MISS THAT CHANCE, AND ESPECIALLY IF U.S. COMES TO SUMMIT STILL LACKING AN ENERGY LAW AND WITH DOLLAR CONTINUING UNDER PSYCHOLOGICAL CLOUD--WHICH TO LARGE EXTENT HAS BEEN GENERATED BY FAILURE TO ENACT ENERGY BILL OR OTHERWISE TO ACT FIRMLY ON OIL IMPORTS--CONFIDENCE IN U.S. WOULD SUFFER BADLY AND FUTURE WOULD BE MUCH DIMMER. HINTON

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